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Meanwhile already the United States doubtless holds this vantage ground among all nations, that by reason of her vast strength she does not need to go armed or to expect quarrels. She can afford to carry out her own ideals, since no one seriously wishes to molest her. She can afford to lead the world in the methods of peaceful conduct, inasmuch as her power and her dignity are above the reach of petty insult.

The Gentle Art of Making Enemies.

BY LUCIA AMES MEAD.

The thing of first importance which we need, if we would be secure against imminent outbreaks, is the knowledge that this is the most critical period in the world's history. Never were so many hundreds of millions of men consciously changing their political and industrial conditions; never a time when business interests were so complex and so far-reaching, so sensitive to the good or evil will, to the wisdom or folly of those who are not its managers. Now, for the first time in human history, owing to steam, electricity and the spread of democracy, world organizations and consequent security are almost within reach, yet the men who are skilled in the gentle art of making enemies seem to know nothing of the new hope and opportunity, and go on their way blithely scattering the firebrands of scare headlines and to talk war in the same manner as Governor Vardaman, Hoke Smith and Thomas Dixon have been scattering their firebrands of hate and disloyalty to the constitution. The power of suggestion is one that must be reckoned with. In Atlanta, it meant a score of innocent men massacred, nine millions of black people outraged, and our nation dishonored.

Another thing for the patriot to learn is that national danger is more a question of psychology than physics. The man whose opinion we need as to the trajectory of projectiles is not one whose training fits him to judge a *casus belli*. Let him stick to his last, and not meddle where he has no business. It is not for him to decide how much force our country needs for defense. The amount of defense required depends not on a nation's size or wealth, but upon its danger. San Franciscans, though less numerous and wealthy than Bostonians, find it necessary for the moment to have a committee on safety, and to sell 20,000 pistols to private citizens. We, being a little better organized, and not having had an earthquake on our hands, need nothing of the sort. Yet many of the men who are estimating our need of battle-ships, and are growing hysterical over the *Dreadnaught*, base our need of a duplicate upon our size and wealth, rather than upon our dangers. One would think that England's confidence in us in leaving three thousand miles of undefended territory between us and Canada was an unknown fact, when one reads much of the newspaper excited chatter. The *Dreadnaught* is not a vessel that our kin beyond sea will send against their best friend, so long as that Canadian border remains unprotected, as a guarantee of amity.

Defense must be measured by danger, and danger, as I have said, is chiefly a question of psychology, the very last subject that a man trained in maneuvering steel mechanisms and instruments of destruction is trained in. No wonder that the masters of these deadly machines are restless when there is nothing doing, and want "a

firm attitude" shown. That would make things lively, and would give them some trips in foreign waters, not to say promotions, if matters became more lively still. Their cry, of course, is for peace! The time has passed when it is good form to express delight in war. For the sake of decency, all warlike preparations must be declared to be in the interests of peace. "It is a state of mind very much to be dreaded," says Ruskin, "for a man not to know the devil when he sees him." The most dangerous devil whom the American people have to deal with to-day, because he masks himself under the form of the angel of peace, is the one who is engaged in making enemies for our country. What matters it if he be sincere. So, no doubt, were Alva and Philip II. So was Napoleon, devastating Europe for French glory. So, they would like to have us think, are the men who, "for the interests of race purity," are sowing suggestions of treason to the constitution and to the moral law. The man who will do the most in Congress next year to scare its members into hysteria over the "yellow peril" and the German bogey, and to demonstrate that the only way to peace is marked out by new squadrons, likewise maintains that Tuskegee Institute is a curse to the South. What boots it that he is sincere when his opinion on one subject is as dangerous and false to American principles as his opinion on the other?

The schoolmaster fifty years ago, who ruled with rat-tan and rawhide, was sincere in believing that the only way to maintain discipline was by force. To-day, no one of the hundreds of thousands of children in the schools of New York can be struck without the teacher being fined. Child nature has not changed, but a psychological study of the boy has revealed other methods of keeping peace in the school-rooms than threats of thrashing. The nation needs to study the schoolmaster's line of progress. It is cheaper to make friends than to fight enemies. The Kaiser, sending his brother to visit us, presenting Harvard with a Germanic museum, instituting an interchange of university lectureships, attending the opening lecture of the American, and leading in a cheer for President Roosevelt's courteous letter, is doing more to prevent war with us than by all the battle-ships he has built. The Anglo-German *rapprochement*, begun at the Lucerne Peace Conference last year, was a masterpiece of psychological strategy, spiking the guns of the jingo press in both England and Germany, and by suggestions of what both nations had in common, drawing attention from the petty jealousies and suspicions that were making a breach between two Christian nations.

President Roosevelt's tact and goodwill in preventing war in Guatemala and Cuba indicates that he needs no gratuitous advice from men who know not the first elements of statesmanship as to how to treat Japan. The last thing that these mischief-makers are thinking of is "a square deal." They know mathematics and physics, and can estimate armor plate, but cannot estimate human hearts and wills. Said a rear admiral of the United States, in the midst of the Boer war, to a friend of mine: "I tell you what England ought to do is to whip France; she could do it, and it would clear the air and be a good thing." Not a thought of justice or reason was in the mind of this defender of his country. To him war was a clever game, and the misery of millions a negligible

quantity. Let it be admitted that he was an exception to his class; but the fact remains that both in and out of his class a training of the imagination which shall enable one to put himself in a foreigner's place is more essential to America's safety than the technique of Annapolis or West Point, and it is the great essential omitted from the education of our supercilious race.

"It is peace, not war, that I seek. Given such a navy [that is, the greatest on earth] as will command Japan's respect, and we shall have pleasant relations with her," is the complacent doctrine of the young man who is going into Congress for the express purpose of taxing our people to sink their money in short-lived battleships so as to terrorize the world and dominate by threat of force. There are many things taught at Annapolis, but how to create pleasant relations with a sensitive, aspiring people of the Oriental race is not one of them. The word "respect" is not given in the dictionaries as synonymous with fear or dread. One does not respect a tiger or a cobra or a torpedo boat or machine gun. Only justice and goodwill can ever win respect, spite of the opinion of many ardent youths and callow thinkers to the contrary. It is high time that these silly advocates of peace by gunpowder realized that there are some things which even *Dreadnaughts* and their rivals cannot do. They cannot make an irritated and insulted nation buy their goods. The power of the economic boycott is one to be reckoned with in the future, when estimating national dangers and methods of defense.

The shallowness of all this pretended anxiety for peace, to which I have alluded, is that its promoters sedulously refrain from considering the one certain thing that can bring the same peace and security between Japan and Germany and America as now exists between Maine, Alabama and Oregon. They would have us forget that the Hague Conference, which will open next May, will have before it five propositions from the Interparliamentary Union which would promote pleasant relations at the saving of a billion dollars and more annually in the near future. It is high time that the attention of the business world, so careful about insurance and economies, should give this heed.

One proposition is for the immunity of private property at sea in time of war, like that immunity on land which now exists. This would enable England, as Sir Robert Reid, the Lord Chancellor, has shown, to materially lessen her navy, which now exists largely to protect her merchant marine. If England's navy were diminished, all others would follow suit. A second recommendation is for a periodic meeting of the Hague Conference, which would be the beginning of a world's legislature, and would provide means for the regular settlement of new international problems as they come up in the rapid increase of international relationships. A third is a general arbitration treaty, which may be as inclusive as we choose to make it. There is nothing but ill-will and suspicion and a lurking love of war that would prevent all nations making treaties that, like those between Holland and Denmark, Chile and Argentine, should refer all difficulties to arbitration.

A fourth recommendation is a proportionate limitation of armaments. Were the other provisions adopted by the nations, this recommendation could at the third Hague Conference be expanded into a demand for a

diminution of armaments, and by succeeding stages in much less than a generation lead to the substitution of an international police for costly and delusive rival armies and navies. The fifth proposition — perhaps for the moment the most important of all — is that before any declaration of hostilities the forty signatory powers shall pledge themselves to have every supposed *casus belli* examined by an impartial tribunal, and a report made to the world. This alone would almost always prevent war, as such an investigation in the North Sea disaster prevented bloodshed between Russia and England.

These supremely important, far-reaching recommendations of able statesmen of the world's parliaments deserve to be placed at the head of every paper in the land every day from now until the opening of the great Conference at The Hague. The welfare of hundreds of millions of people will be affected by them. The solution of the whole war problem is within our grasp now, for the first time in human history. — *From the Boston Transcript.*

Dr. Rivière's Medical League of Peace.

The *Manchester* (England) *Guardian* has the following appreciative estimate of the Medical League of Peace founded by Dr. Rivière in Paris:

"Of all the associations formed to work against war and for peace, the last — Dr. Rivière's Medical League of Peace — is perhaps the most remarkable. It is surely the first non-political association of the kind. All the leaders of the trade unions in England are, without exception, strong peace men, and their congresses could be relied upon to give a hostile vote against ninety-nine wars out of a hundred. But even among trade unionists there is, so far as we know, no association formed expressly to carry on a peace propaganda. Among the professions there certainly is not. There is no Peace League of lawyers or clergymen and ministers of religion as such, and that the doctors should have shown the way is only another instance of the courageous part which what we may call the theory of Applied Medicine is playing in public affairs. It makes one long for associations of Applied Religion and Applied Law. Of course there are many more ways of working for peace than membership in a peace society; but the organization of men can nearly always exercise more influence than the same number of men acting individually could do, and the multiplication of these societies, with all their ramifications and transverse sectional organizations, is bound to be a great gain. The difficulty hitherto in resisting the demand for war has been that the quieter and more sober elements of society have commonly been the least vocal. Burke has a fine passage somewhere in which he warns us against calling the noise of the grasshoppers the voice of the field because the great cattle browse in silence. A war party must in the nature of things be vocal, and too often it has had its way simply because the more serious interests in a country have not found their voice in time. These sectional organizations will do something to prevent that happening so often in future.

"The interest in the legislative side of peace work is steadily growing, and hardly a week passes now without bringing some suggestion for preventing war, which is